

[P. 225a] Waksachi NS25

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from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

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A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani 'iwa'u nwa (one word). This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu mi nali nwa tsatsa'mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

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Any old man might be called (paternal) "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

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During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink.

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They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

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During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

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The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

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Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

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According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

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doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

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There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (t'pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai'n'č) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

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Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it (or its instructional) had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and
 [614] Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans
 [616] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and
 ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in perma-
 [592] nent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area.
 The household group was not large; normally its personnel included
 a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned
 sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father
 was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of
 elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These
 families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunt-
 ing; fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking
 of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference
 from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and
 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in
 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion
 of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as
 positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn
 [577] those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the
 personal character of individuals that the peace of a community
 depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and
 their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as
 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made
 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or
 building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and
 granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated
 in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element
 in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the
 universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were
 many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements,
 carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes,
 directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial
 activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs,
 and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs
 or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their wina-
 tums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority
 in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts
 and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

[P.9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
 773 revived by easy means. The other story is that
 of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young
 wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are
 localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
 [173]rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are be-
 lieved to record recent historical events, New-
 man obtained two, one the narrative of an actual
 war between several tribal groups (which is not
 included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton re-
 corded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Trans-
 formation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and
 the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an
 actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
 178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture
 persist, seems more palpably in effect in myth-
 ology than in other aspects of culture. There
 is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts
 and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands
 of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is
 theoretically free to choose his literary ma-
 terials, yet he persistently tells his story ac-
 cording to traditional form. This observation
 is an old one, but it can never be overempha-
 sized. And it is recalled here because the
 stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
 [171]in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North
 American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible
 dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades,
 and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in
 their tales. But instead of being used fre-
 quently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in
 Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly,
 one in one tale, another in another. Now, this
 may be narrative restraint, or it may be con-
 forming to tradition, or both. But simplicity
 is maintained in spite of the possibility for
 florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear
 upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may
 be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths
 as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
 [173]information. The myths are repeated to the
 young as historic fact--this was the way land
 [869]was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals over-
 come, and so on. The explanatory element is
 [182]frequent. This aspect of the myths should
 necessitate adherence to general plot even though
 details might be altered or augmented. The sec-
 ond factor, which actually would affect the

[174] "This 'necessity' was manifested individually
 by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently re-
 fusing to act as an interpreter, always worked
 near by while his daughter interpreted for my
 informant. One day he suddenly threw down his
 ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman,
 and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell
 it right!"

*The presence of explanatory elements in
 myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an
 etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Ex-
 planatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North
 American Indians).